THE (18)

PVRITAN

TURN'D

JESUITE:

OR RATHER,

OVT-VYING HIM IN those Diabolicall and dangerous Positions, of the Deposition of KINGS;

From the yeare 1536. untill this present Time; extracted out of the most ancient and authentick Authors.

SHEWING

Their Concord in the matter, their Discord in the manner of their Sedition.

By that Reverend Divine, Doctor [illegible]

August. in Psal. 36. Conc. 2.

Tunc inter se concordant cum in perniciem justi conspirant, non quia se amant, sed quia eum qui amandus erat, simul oderant.

LONDON,

Printed for WILLIAM SHEARES, at the signe of the Bible in St. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1654.

95(18)

To the dutifull Subject.

THe *Puritan-Church-Policy*, and *Iesuiticall Society* began together: a the one in *Geneva*, 1536 and the other in *Rome*, 1537. since their beginning, they have bestirred themselvs busily (*as hee that compasseth the* b *earth, or they that coasted* c *sea and land,*) each one in his order. The *Puritan* to breake down the wall of *Sion*, by disturbing the peace of the *reformed Church*: the *Iesuite* to build up the ruines of *Babylon*, by maintaining the abomination of the *deformed Synagogue*. These (though brethren in sedition and heady) are *head-severed*, the one staring to the *Presbyterie*, and the other to the *Papacie*, but they are so fast linked behind, and *tayle-tied* together with *firebrands* between them, that if they bee not quenched by the power of Majesty, they cannot chose (when the meanes are fitted to their plot) but set the *Church* on fire, and the *state* in an uproare. *Their many and long Prayers*, their *much vehement preaching*,

a See M. Hooker's preface. And the preface of Chemnic. before his examen. against the first part of the Councell of Trent.

b Iob 1.7.

c Mat. 23.

and ſtout oppoſition againſt *orders eſtabliſhed*; their ſhew of auſterity in their converſation, and of ſingular learning in their profeſſion, (*for the evill fiend transformed into an angel of light*) brought them firſt to admiration. Wherby they have not only *robbed widowes houſes*, under pretence of prayer, and ranſacked their *ſeduced diſciples* by ſhew of devotion, but alſo battered the *courts of Princes*, by animating the *Peeres* againſt *Kings*, and the *people* againſt the *Peeres*, for pretended *reformation*. And whereas, God hath inſeparably annexed to the *crowne of earthly Majeſty*, *a ſupreme eccleſiaſticall ſoveraignty* for the protection of *pietie*; and an abſolute *immunitie* from the judiciall *ſentence*, and Martiall *violence*, for the preſervation of *policy*: Theſe ſectaries bereave Kings of both theſe their *Princely prerogatives*, *exulting themſelves* (as the 2 Theſſ. 2. 4. ſonne of perdition) *above all that is called God*: Leſt they might ſeeme, *ſine ratione inſanire*, to ſow the ſeeds of ſedition without ſhew of reaſon, *Eadem faciunt ſcripturarum* (as the heretikes in *Tertullians* time were wont to doe) *in materiam ſuam*; they kill the Scripture to ſerve their turnes: and pervert the holy word of the *eternall God*, by ſtrange interpretation, and wicked application, againſt the meaning of the *Spirit*, by whom it was penned; the doctrine of the *Church*, to whom it was delivered; and the practiſe of all the *Godly*, (as well under the *Law* as the *Goſpel*) that did beleeve, underſtand, and obey it; to maintaine their late, and lewd opinions. I have in my hand *above forty ſeverall places of the old and New Teſtament*, which both the brethren of the enraged

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oppolite faction doe indifferently quote, and seditiously apply, in defence of their dangerous opposition, and damnable error, against the *Ecclesiasticall supremacy*, and the *indeleble character of Royall inunction*. Vnto the which places, rashly expounded, perverted, and applyed, I haved added the interpretation of the learned *Protestants* since the time of *Martin Luther*, who began to discover the nakednesse of the *Romish Church*, 1517. More especially insisting in the most mighty Kings, the most reverend Prelates, honourable Lords, loyall Clergie, and other worthy men, that have in the Church of *England*, learnedly defended the Princely right, against disloyall, and undutifull opponents: which by *Gods* helpe I meane to publish, when I have added the exposition of the *Fathers*, to confute the falshood of the *Puritan popish-faction*, and to confirme the truth of the *Protestants Doctrine* in each particular quotation. I protest in all sincerity, that I neither have in this treatise, nor meane in the other, *hereafter to be published*, to detort any thing, to make either the *cause* it selfe, or the *favourers* of it more *odious*, then their owne words, (published with the generall approbation of their severall favourites) doe truly infer, and necessarily inforce. I hope the loyall subject and *Godly* affected, we accept in good part my endeavour, and industry, intended for the glory of *God*, the honour of the *King*, and the discoverie of *the seditious*. The displeasure of the *male-contented factions* (which can no more abide the truth, then the Owles can light, or the Franticke the Physician) I neither regard nor care for. *Farewell*.

Th Cranm
Io. Whitgift
Ric. Bancro
Arch. of Ca
Henry Earl
of Northan
Robert Ba
of Salisbu
The L. Bu
leigh, L. Tr
surer of En
land.
The L. El
mere Lord
Chancello
of England
The L. Se
ford.
The L. Co
B Iewell.
B Horne.
B Pilking
B Elsmere
B Cooper.
B Bilson.
B Babingt
B Andrew
B Barlow.
B Bridges.
D Ackwo
D Saravia
D Cosens
D Sutcliff
D Prythe
D Wilkes
D Morto
D Tocke
M Bekins
M Foxe.
M Nowel
M Hooke
many oth

The Table of the Booke.

of { Prelates, Peeres, People, } by { Scripture, Chap. 1. pag. 1.
Fathers of the { first 300, second 300, third 300, fourth 300, fifth 300 } yeares. { cap. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 } pag. { 3, 7, 18, 21, 26 }

Puritans { Concord in the matter, Discord in the manner } of sedition. cap. 7. p. 31
Danger of their Doctrine to { Prince, People } cap 8. p. 37.
Papists { Puritan-Jesuitisme, or the generall consent of the principall Puritans and Iesuites, against Kings, from the yeare 1536. untill the yeare 1602. out of the most authenticke Authors. } cap. 8. p. 40.

THE FIRST CHAPTER

Proveth by the testimony of Scripture, that Kings are not punishable by man, but reserved to the judgement of God.

Kings have their authority from God [a], and are his Vicegerents in earth, [b] to execute justice and judgement for him amongst the Sonnes of men [c]. All subjects (as well Prelates and Nobles, as the inferiour people) are forbidden with the *tongue*, to revile Kings [d], with the *heart*, to thinke ill of them [e], or with the *hand*, to resist them [f]. The great King of Heaven doth impart his owne name unto his *Lieutenants* the Kings of the Earth: and calleth them *Gods*, with an *ego dixi* [g], whose word is *Yea* and *Amen*: with this onely difference, that these *Gods shall dye like men* [h], and fall like other Princes. Wherefore *Nathan* the man of God, must reprove *David* [i], that hee may repent, and bee saved. And the Sages, Judges, and Nobles, (without

[a] Rom. 13. 1.
[b] Prov. 8. 15.
[c] 2 Chron. 19. 6.
[d] Exod. 22. 28.
[e] Eccl. 10. 20.
[f] Rom. 13. 2.
[g] Psal. 82. 6.
[h] Psal. 82. 7.
[i] 2 Sam. 12. 7.

feare

[k] 1 Reg. 12. 7. feare or flattery) must advise and direct *Roboam*[k]. Other attempts against Kings, the King of Kings hath neither commanded in his law, nor permitted in his Gospell. *David* (saith *Ambrose*) [illegible] &c. *David* though hee were an adulterer, and an homicide, was tied to no law: for Kings are free from bonds, and can by no compulsion of law, bee drawne to punishment, being freed by the power of Government. Thus farre *Ambr.*

Apolog. David cap. 10.

Saul the first King of *Israel* was rather a monster, then a man: after the Spirit of God had forsaken him, and the evill Spirit was come upon him[m]. There were not many sinnes against God, Man, or Nature, wherein hee trangressed not; yet his excesse was punished, neither by the Sacerdotall Synod, nor the secular Senate: *Who can lay his hand on the Lords annointed, and bee guiltlesse*[n]? The very Annointment was the cause of *Sauls* immunity from all humane coercion: as *Augustine* affirmeth, *Quero si non haberet, Saul sacramenti sanctitatem; quid in eo David veneraretur*? If *Saul* had not the holinesse of the Sacrament, I aske what it was that *David* revereneed in him? hee honoured *Saul* for the sacred and holy unction, while hee lived: and revenged his death. Yea, hee was troubled and trembled at the heart, because hee had cut off a lap of *Sauls* garment. Loe, *Saul* had no innocency, and yet hee had holinesse: not of life, but of unction. So farre *Augustine*.

[m] 1 Sam. 16. 14.

[n] 1 Sam. 16. 9.

Aug. contr. lit. Petil. l. 2. c. 48.

Who questioned *David* for his murther and adultery? who censured *Solomon* for his idolatry? though their crimes were capitall by the law of God. After that Kingdome was divided, all the Kings of *Israel*, and most of the Kings of *Iudah*, were notorious Idolaters: yet during those Kingdomes, which endured above 200. yeares, no Priest did chalenge, no States-men did claime power from the highest, to punish or depose their Princes. And the Prophets perswaded all men to obey, and endure those idolatrous Princes, whose impiety they reproved with the losse of their lives.

Christ fled when the people would have made him a King.

King [a]. Hee payed tribute for himselfe and *Peter* [b]. When the question was propounded concerning the *Emperours* subsidy, hee concluded for *Cæsar* [c]. And standing to receive the judgement of [illegible] hee acknowledged his power to be of God [d]. This *Saviour of Mankind*, whose actions should bee our instruction, did never attempt to change that Government, or to displace those Governours, which were directly repugnant to the scope of *Information* that he aimed at.

John Baptist did indeed reprove King *Herod* with a *Non licet* [e], but he taught not the souldiers to leave his service, or by strife and impatience, to wind themselves out of the band of allegiance, wherein the *law* had left them, and the *Gospell* found them [f].

The *Apostle* delivered unto the Church the doctrine of obedience and patience, which they had learned by the precept, and observed by the practise of our Lord CHRIST. *Peter* commandeth obedience to all manner of men in authority [g]. *Paul* forbiddeth resistance against any power [h]. And Saint *Jude* maketh it blasphemy, to revile government, or to speake evill of Governours [i]. *If therefore an Angell from heaven preach otherwise, then they have delivered, let him bee accursed* [k].

[a] Ioh. 6. 15.
[b] Matth. 17. 27.
[c] Matth. 22. 21.
[d] Ioh. 19. 15.
[e] Mark. 6. 18.
[f] Luk. 3. 14.
[g] 1 Pet. 2. 13.
[h] Rom. 13. 1.
[i] 2. 3. 4. Iude 8.
[k] Gal. 1. 8.

The second Chapter proveth the same by the Fathers of the first 300. yeares.

THe true Church, which had the Spirit of understanding, to discerne the voice of Christ, from the voice of a *stranger*, never taught, never practised, never used or approved other weapons, then salt teares, and humble prayers against the *Paganisme*, *Heresie*, *Apostasy*, and *Tyranny* of earthly Kings.

Iustinus Martyr, *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian* shall beare witnesse for 300. yeares, wherein the Kings and Potentates of the earth, bathed themselves in the bloud of innocents, and professed enmity against Christ and his seruants.

Ad inquisitionem vestram, Christianos nos esse profitemur &c.
At your inquisition, we professe our selves to be Christians, though wee know death to bee the guerdon of our profession (saith *Iustine Martyr* to the Emperour *Antoninus*,) did wee expect an earthly Kingdome, wee would deny our religion, that escaping death, wee might in time attaine our expectation: But we feare not persecution, which have not our hope fixed on the things of this life, because we are certainely perswaded, that wee must die. As for the preservation of publike peace, we Christians yeeld to you (O Emperour) more helpe and assistance, then other men. For wee teach, that no evill doer, no covetous man, nor seditious, that lieth in wait for bloud, can have accesse to God: And that every man doth passe to life or death, according to the merit of his deeds: Thus farre hee.

Secund. Apolog. ad Ant. Imp. p. 113.

We (saith *Tertullian* to *Scapula* the Viceroy of *Carthage*) are defamed, for seditious against the Imperiall Majesty: Yet were the Christians never found to be *Albinians*, *Nigrians*: or *Cassians*, (*Albinus*, *Niger*, and *Cassius* were *Traytours against Marcus Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, *and Severus the Emperours*) but they that sware by the Emperours diety, the very day before: they that vowed and offered sacrifice for the Emperours health, are found to be the Emperours enemies. A Christian is enemy to no man, much lesse to the Emperour: knowing, that the Emperiall Majesty, is ordained of God, and therefore necessarily to bee loved, reverenced, and honoured, whose prosperity, together with the welfare of al the *Roman* Empire they desire so long as the world standeth. We doe therefore honour the Emperour, in such sort, as is lawfull for us, and expedient for him: wee reverence him as a mortall man, next unto God, of whom hee holdeth all his authority, onely subject to God, and so wee make him soveraigne

Tertull. lib. ad Scap.

reigne over all, in that, wee make him subject, but to God alone: So farre *Tertullian*.

Saint *Cyprian* sheweth many good reasons, for the patience of the Saints, in his booke against *Demetrianus*. God (saith he) is the revenger of his servants, when they are annoyed. Wherefore no Christian when hee is apprehended, doth resist or revenge himselfe against your unjust violence, though the number of our people bee very great. The confidence wee have, that God will reward, doth confirme our Patience, the guiltlesse give way to the guilty, the innocent rest content with their undeserved punishment, and tortures, being certainly assured that the wrong done to us, shall not bee unrewarded. The more injury we suffer, the more just and grievous shall Gods vengeance be on them that persecute us. It is therefore cleare and manifest, that the plagues which come downe from Gods indignation, doe not come through us poore persecuted Christians, but from him whom we serve, for the wrong done unto us. So far *Cyprian*.

As many as lived according to Christs institution, did never revile the Government of Tyrants, much lesse by force resist their violance, following the patience of Christ, who could by his owne power, the might of his Angels, or the strength of his creatures, have at the first withstood, or, at the last revenged, the injury of the people, the buffet of the Priests servant, the scorne of *Herod*, the judgement of *Pilate*, and the violence of the souldiers. Hee yeelded himselfe patiently to death, to teach all his Disciples, that an injury done by authority, is patiently to bee endured, not forcibly to bee repelled. As soone also as *Paul* became a Christian, his seditious and bloody Spirit, which he had learned of the Pharisies, was changed into a desire of peace, and quietnesse. Hee honoured the Heathen Magistrates, as *Agrippa*, *Felix*, and *Lisias*, ratifying his Doctrine, by the practise of his life. I know that Cardinall *Alane*, Cardinall *Bellarmine*, *Ficlerus*, *Simancha*, & other upholders of the Papall tyrannie, that *Stephanus Junius*, *Franciscus Hotomanus*, *Georgius Buchananus*,

Ioh. 19. 15.
Ioh. 18. 22.
Luk 23. 11.
Mark. 15. 15.
Matth. 27. 27. 28. 29.

and other pillars of the *Puritans* anarchy, doe answere, that the Church then, as it were inwathed in the bonds of weakenesse, had not strength sufficient to make powerfull resistance. But these *Fathers* that then lived, doe convince them, and all other sectaries of falshood, by making demonstration of the strength and potency of the godly Christians, in case they would have put their forces to the strongest proofe. Seing that all publike places, as Courts, Camps, Consistories, Cities, and Countrey villages, were stored and furnished with men of that profession and quality, as doth most evidently appeare by the words of *Tertullian*, in his Apologeticall defence of the Christians: *Vna nox pauculis faculis, &c.* One night with a few firebrands, would yeeld us sufficient revenge, if it were lawfull for us to requite evill for evill. But God forbid, that Christians should either revenge themselves with humane fire, or be grieved to suffer that wherewith they are tried. Were we disposed, not to practise secret revenge, but to professe open hostility, should we want number of men, or force of armes? Are the Moores, or the Parthians, or any one Nation whatsoever, more in number then wee, that are spread over all the World? Wee are not of you, and yet wee have filled all the places and roomes which you have. Your Cities, Ilands, Castles, Townes, Assemblies, your Tents, Tribes, and Wards; yea, the Imperiall Pallace, Senate, and seats of judgement. For what warre, were not wee, able and ready, though wee were fewer in number then you, that goe to our Martyrdome so willingly? if it were not more lawfull in our religion to bee slaine, then to slay? wee could without armour, not by rebelling against you, but by departing from you, doe you displeasure enough, even with our separation. For if so great a multitude, as we are, should breake out from you, as in any other corner of the World, the losse of so many Citizens would shame and punish you. You would feare, to see your selves left solitary, even amazed, as among the dead. You should then see, silence and desolation every where. You would have many more enemies, then

en inhabitants. Whereas now, you have fewer enemies, because of the multitude of your Citizens, that are almost all Christians. *Hac Tertullian.* Wee see by these three witnesses, that the Church of God, in the first 300. yeares wanted, neither number of men, strength, nor courage to resist persecution, and to have established the Christian faith, if that course had beene lawfull: but because their Lord had given them no sword to strike withall, they chose rather to bee crowned *Martyrs*, for their Religion, then to bee punished as Traytours for rebellion. What number of men, what strength of armes had the Church (thinke you) the next 300. yeares after it had beene backed by Princes, defended by lawes, provoked by honourable favours, to professe Christianity? Yet all that while, the servants of God, neither did nor would resist Apostasie, Heresie, or Tyranny: but yeelded their lives, with all submission, though they wanted neither meanes nor multitude, convenient for any warres, as the next chapter by impregnable demonstration, shall shew.

The third Chapter proveth by the Fathers, of the second 300. yeares that the pleasure of Princes, must bee endured with patence, when their decrees cannot bee obeyed with a good Conscience.

THe next 300. yeares, the Christians did as patiently endure Heresie, Apostasie, and Tyranny to the glorious triall of their faith, and the eternall reward of their patience. Whereof wee have a cloud of witnesses, namely, *Hosius, Liberius, Athanasius, Hilarius, Basilius Magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Lucifer Calaritanus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus,*

drinus, Optatus Milevitanus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Leo the first, and Gregory the great.

Hosius was a famous Confessor in the Church, before *Constantine* the great, a worthy Bishop during that Emperours raigne, and after his death greatly esteemed of all good men, yea even of *Constantius* the Arrian Emperour himselfe, for his old age, great experience, excellent learning, and good conversation. When this worthy Prelate, was commanded by the Emperour, to subscribe to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, hee returned to the Imperiall Majesty, this stout, constant, Christian, and dutifull answere; *Ego confessionis munus implevi primum, cum persecutio moveretur, ab avo tuo Maximiniano*: I was then a Confessor, when your Grandfather *Maximinian* persecuted the Church. And if you doe now raise persecution, I am ready to endure any thing, rather then betray the truth and shed innocent blond. I doe not like your manner of writing against *Athanasius*: Cease from it, bee not of the Arrian opinion: Give no eare to the Easterne Bishops: beleeve mee rather, that for age might bee your Grandfather. Leave off I beseech you, and call to mind, that you are a mortall man. Feare that dreadfull day of judgement. Interpose not your selfe (O Emperour) into the Ecclesiasticall service, neither command us in this kind, to condemne the innocent: but learne rather of us. God hath entrusted your Majesty with the Empire, and committed unto us, the service of the Church: hee that with an envious eye, maligneth your imperiall Soveraignty, contradicteth the ordinance of God. Take heed (O Prince) least drawing to your selfe the right of the Church, you become guilty of grievous transgression. It is written, Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and to God the things that appertaine to God; it is therefore, neither lawfull for us Priests, to usurpe your Kingdome: not for you Princes, to meddle with the sacred service, and sacrifices of the Church. Thus farre *Hosius*. You see the grounds, that this good Bishop stood upon; rather resolved to suffer any death or torture,

Obsequere & scribe contra Athanasium qui enim contra illum scribit ille plane mobiscum, &c.

Hosius apud Athan. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

torture, then by his consent to betray the truth, or to condemne the guiltlesse. He admonisheth freely, and reproveth sharply, hee offereth his life to the Princes pleasure: It was farre from his meaning, to revile the sacred Majesty, or to stirre up any rebellion, against this Hereticall Emperour, which infringed the *Canons* of the Church, without all regard of truth or equity, to serve the humours of the Arrians, and to wreck his anger on them all, which yeelded not to that heresie.

Liberius a Bishop of *Rome*, did neither excommunicate nor depose this wicked Emperour *Constantius*, but appeared at his command, and endured his pleasure, to the admiration of the Arrians, and the confirmation of the Christians, as wee find in *Athanasius*, *Trahitur Liberius ad Imperatorem, &c.* *Liberius* was haled to the Emperour, when hee came to his presence hee spake freely, Cease (said hee) O Emperour, to persecute the Christians, goe not about, by any meanes, to bring Hereticall impiety into the Church of God. Wee are ready, rather to endure any torture, then to bee called Arrians. Compell us not to become enemies unto Christ. Fight not against him (wee beseech you) that hath bestowed the Empire upon you. Render not impiety to him for his grace, persecute them not which beleeve in him, least you heare, *It is hard for thee to kick against the prick.* Act. 9. 5. Oh would to God you did so heare it that you might (as *Paul* did) beleeve it. Loe wee are at hand, and come to your presence, before our enemies the Arrians can invent any thing to informe against us, wee hastened to come at your command, though wee were assured of banishment: that wee might abide our punishment, before any crime could bee objected, much lesse proved against us. Whereby it may appeare, that all Christians are (as wee now bee) undeservedly punished, and the crimes laid to their charge not true but fained by sycophancy or deceitfull subtilty. Thus spake *Liberius*, and every man admired his resolution; but the Emperour for answer commanded him to banishment. Thus far he. *Liberius quo supra apud Athanas.*

Pope *Liberius* had not learned the language of his Successour *Pius Quintus*, when hee bellowed against our late Queene, nor that principle of the Puritans, that the inferiour Officer may use force of armes against the chiefe Magistrate that shall become a Tyrant (*Whereof every seditious Sectary will bee judge*) and not onely defend himselfe, and his owne people, but also any other that shall fly unto him. Which opinion *Lambertus Danæus* avoucheth, contrary to the Law, the Gospell, and the generall consent of all Orthodoxall Fathers.

Polit. Christ. l. 6. c. 3.

Hilarius, a Bishop of *France*, wrote the same time to this same Emperour in most humble manner, *Benefica natura tua Domine beatissime Auguste:* Your mild nature, most blessed Emperour, agreeing with your gracious disposition, and the mercy which floweth aboundantly, from the fountaine of your Fatherly godlinesse, doe assure us, that wee shall obtaine our desire. Wee beseech you, not onely with words, but also with teares, that the Catholique Churches, bee no longer oppressed with grievous injuries, and endure intollerable persecutions, and contumelies, and that (which is most shamefull) even of our brethren. Let your Clemency provide, &c.

Hilarius ad Imper. Constant.

Surely, if it had then beene knowne, that the Pope, by his absolute power or indirect authority, could have punished or deposed Kings, which the Papists avouch, or for the Peeres or the people to have done it, which the *Puritans* affirme, some of these old Bishops, would have pressed that point against this Heretical Prince, which abused his sword, to the blaspheming of Christ, the murthering of the Saints, the seducing of many thousand soules: by strengthening, maintaining, and establishing the Arrian errour. But they tooke it to bee no Christian mans part, to beare armour (no not defensive) against his Prince, though never so wicked, cruell, or ungodly.

Holy *Athanasius* confesseth the power of Kings to bee of God, and their impiety not to bee punished by man.

Sicut

Sicut in toto mundo Deus Rex eſt Imperator & poteſtatem exercet in omnibus: As God as King and Emperour over all the World, and exerciſeth his power in all creatures: ſo the King and Prince is over all earthly men, and doth by his abſolute power, what hee will, even as God himſelfe, *Hæc ille.* *Ad Antioch. queſt. 55.*

When it was objected againſt this reverend Father *Athanaſius*, that hee had incenſed *Conſtance* the Religious Emperour of the Weſt, againſt *Conſtantius*, in the behalfe of the perſecuted Chriſtians: hee cleared himſelfe from that accuſation, in an Apologie to the ſaid Emperour *Conſtantius*. The Lord (ſaith hee) is my record, and his annointed your brother, that I never made mention of your Majeſty for any evill, before your brother of bleſſed memory, that religious Emperour *Conſtance*. I did never incite him againſt you, as theſe Arrians doe ſlander mee, but whenſoever I had acceſſe unto him, I recounted your gracious inclination. God knoweth, what mention I made of your godly diſpoſition. Give mee leave and pardon (moſt courteous Emperour) to ſpeake the truth. The ſervant of God *Conſtance*, was not eaſily drawne to give eare to any man in this kind. I was never in ſuch credit with him, that I durſt ſpeake of any ſuch matter, or derogate from one brother before another, or talke reprochfully of one Emperour, in the hearing of another. I am not ſo mad, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which ſaith, Curſe not the King in thine heart, and backbite not the mighty in the ſecrets of thy Chamber: for the birds of the aire ſhall tell it, and the winged foule ſhall bewray thee. If then, the things that bee ſpoken in ſecret againſt Princes, cannot bee hid: is there any likelihood, that I in the Emperours preſence, and before ſo many, as continually attended his perſon, would ſay any thing otherwiſe then well of your Majeſty? Thus farre *Athanaſius*. This is ſounder and ſeemelier doctrine for ſubjects, then that which *Henry Garnet* and *Robert Teſmond*, taught ſome *Romiſh* Catholike Gentlemen

Apolog. Athan. ad Conſtant.

of *England*, who imployed *Thomas Winter* into *Spaine*, in the Moneth of *December*, *Ann. Dom.* 1601. to make request to the *Spanish* King, in the behalfe and names of the *English* Pope-catholikes, that hee would send an army hither into *England*, for the advancement of their Catholique cause; and to promise, that the forces of the *Papists* here should bee ready to doe him service against the late Queene.

Cooke in speech at Arnets arraignment.

The selfe same Doctrine of sedition, was published in the yeare after, *viz. Ann. Dom.* 1602. by *Gulielmus Bucanus*, a man of no meane esteeme among the *Puritans*, and that, at the earnest request of *Beza* and *Goulartius*, the chiefest Ministers of the Church of *Geneva*, (if the Authour himselfe belye them not,) whose words are as followeth: *Subditis si fit publica & manifesta savitia, licet fieri supplices, implorare auxilia ab aliis, & suscipere eorum defensionem aliis regibus licet*: Subjects, when they endure publique and manifest wrong, may lawfully become suppliants to forraigne states, and crave their aid against their Princes: and other Kings ought to take upon them their defence and protection. So farre *Bucan*.

. com. rol. loco: p. 845.

Subjects must square their subjection, according to the rule of Gods word, not after the affection and fancies of men. [a] *Saul* commanded *Doeg* to murther 85. Priests, to destroy their City, Men, Women, and Children with the edge of the sword. Did *David*, for whom they were slaine, when hee had *Saul* in his power, take revenge, or suffer his servants to doe it, when they were ready and offred themselves to slay *Saul*? *David* [b] defiled *Vrias* his bed, and caused him to bee killed: Did *Absolon* well, to conspire against him, that was both a Murtherer and an Adulterer? *Solomon* [c] brought into the land many strange Wives, and as many *different Religions* into the Church: Did the high Priest, the Peeres, the Prophets, or the people, offer to chastice or depose him? *Achab* [d] suffered *Jezabel* to put *Naboth* to death, and to kill the Lords Prophets:

Sam. 22. 18.

Sam. 11. 4. 17.

Reg. 11. 8.

Reg. 21. 8. 9.

jects: Did *Elias* depose him, intice his subjects to rebell against him, or implore forraigne aid to destroy him? *Herod* beheaded *Iohn Baptist*, killed *James*, imprisoned *Peter*, and would have slaine him also, if hee had not beene delivered by an Angell: Did *Peter* take vengeance on *Herod*, which hee might have done with a word, as well as on *Ananias*? No: he did leave him to the Lord, whose judgement insued in most fearefull manner. In a word, wicked Princes have never beene lawfully punished by Prelates, Potentates, or people of their Kingdome, as the *Papists* and *Puritans* averre: but must bee reserved to the judgement of God, as the *Protestants* affirme.

[c] Mark. 6. 27. Act. 12. 24.

[r] Act. 5. 5. [s] Act. 12. 23.

Gregory Nazianzen in his oration at the funerall of Saint *Basil*, reporteth, that the Emperours Deputy in *Pontus*, commanded Saint *Basil* to put out a widow, that had taken sanctuary to save her selfe from forced marriage. The Bishop (not willing to violate the Ecclesiasticall lawes granted by the Imperiall Majesty) refused so to doe. The Governour called the Bishop before him, threatned to whip him, and to teare his flesh with iron hookes: the people hearing that indignity offered to the Bishop, fell to an uproare, and would have slaine the Lievetenant, *Had not that innocent man of God, with much adoe, stayed that furious tumult, and delivered his persecutour from that perill, to whose pleasure he did afterward submit himselfe.*

Basilius Magnus.

Monodia Nazian. inter opuscula Basil. fol. 95.

The fame *Nazianzen*, for his admirable learning called the *Divine*, writeth of *Iulian* the Apostata Emperours death: *Iulian* was punished by the mercy of God, through the teares of Christian men: which teares were many, and had of many, for that they had no other remedy, against that persecutour. Thus farre *Nazianzen*. This godly Father lived under five Emperours, *Constantius*, *Iulianus*, *Iouianus*, *Valentinianus* and *Theodosius*, in all which time, he could find no remedy against the Tyrannie, Heresie, and Apostasie of Princes, beside prayers and teares: the Devill of Hell had not as yet hatched the distinctions

[z] Orat. cont. Iulian.

ons of *propriè* and *impropriè*, *directè* and *indirectè*, *simpliciter* and *secundum quid*, *absolutè & in ordine ad spiritualia*, wherewith the *Iesuites* doe fill the schooles with clamorous evasions, the Church with erroneous superstition, and many Christian states with tragicall sedition.

Lucifer Calaritanus in sundry bookes against *Constantius*, useth many immodest and disloiall speeches: but hee perswaded not the Pope to depose him, the state to punish him, the people to rebell against him, or forraigne aid to suppresse him, but threatned him with the dreadfull punishment of God. Hee that (in the fervency of zeale) durst call so cruell an Emperour, *Theefe, Church-robber, Murtherer, Beast, Hangman, Heretique, Apostata, Idolater, the Forerunner of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe*, would surely have encouraged the Pope, the Peeres or the people, to have removed that evill King, and placed a better in his stead: if there had beene any such opinion in those dayes, as our moderne *Iesuites* and *Puritans* beare now the World in hand. As this Father, in his writings, kept not the modesty of the other Fathers, which lived in that age under *Constantius*: so hee did not continue in the unity of the Catholique Church. *Lucifer* (saith *Ambrose*) *divided himselfe from our communion, though hee were banished with us for our Religion.*

Orat. in obit. fratris Satir.

When *Ambrose* was commanded, to deliver up his Church in *Millaine* to *Maxentius* an Arrian Bishop, hee declared his resolution in a Sermon to the people: which were very sorry for his departure; *Quid turbamini? vobis nunquam vos deseram*: Why are you troubled? I will never willingly depart from you. If I bee compelled, I have no way to resist: I can sorrow, I can weepe, I can sigh, my teares are my weapons against Souldiers, Armour, Gothes: such is the munition of a Priest: by any other meanes, than teares, I neither ought nor can resist: so farre *Ambrose*. Not disability but duty, not want of strength and martiall forces, but a reverend regard of the Emperours Majesty,

Orat. Ambrosii ad populum inter Epist. 31. 33.

ly, commanded by the law of God, kept this blessed *Am-*
brose from resisting. For hee might easily have wrought
the Churches liberty, his owne safety, and the Arrians cala-
mity by the overthrow of the Emperour, through the force
of the Garison in that City, which refused, to attend the
Prince to any other Church, then that wherein *Ambrose*
was. The stout and peremptory answer of the Captaines
and Souldiers, is thus reported by *Ambrose* in an Epistle to
one *Marcellina*, a Religious woman; *Si prodire vellet haberet*
quam se praesto futuros: The Emperour may goe at his plea- *Epist. 33.*
sure, they would bee ready to attend him, if hee would goe
to the Catholike assemblies: or otherwise, they would
keepe on their way to that Congregation, wherein *Am-*
brose was: *Thus farre the Souldiers.* They refused (as you
see) to obey, and preferred Gods true service, before the
Emperours favour: they reviled not his sacred person, they
resisted not his soveraigne power, but yeelded themselves
to his mercy and pleasure, to save their Soules from Gods
wrath and displeasure, as wee find in the same Epistle; *Vnum*
Iob miraturus ascenderam, I went to Church to extoll the
patience of *Iob*, where I found every one of my hearers, a *Epist. eadem.*
Iob, worthy to bee extolled. In every one of you *Iob* is re-
vived, in each of you his patience, and vertue shined, what
could bee said better by Christian men, then that which the
holy Ghost this day spake in you? Wee beseech (O Empe-
rour,) wee offer not to fight, wee feare not to die, wee in-
treat your clemency. Oh it was seemely for Christian soul-
diers, to desire the tranquility of peace and faith, and to
bee constant in truth, even unto death. Thus farre *Am-*
brose.

Saint *Augustine* relateth the same of the Christian soul-
diers, under *Iulian* the Apostata Emperour: *Iulianus extiti*
Imperator infidelis, *Iulian* was an unbeleeving Emperour,
was hee not an Apostata, an Oppressour, and an Idolater?
Christian souldiers served that unbeleeving Emperour.
When they came to the cause of Christ, they would ac-
knowledge

knowledge no Lord but him that was in Heaven: when they were commanded to adore Idoles, and to offer sacrifice, they preferred God before their Prince. But when hee called upon them to warre, and bad them invade any nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternall Lord, from the temporall King, yet they submitted themselves to their temporall Lord, for his sake that was their eternall King: So farre hee.

August. in Psal. 124.

Optatus Milevitanus, is another pregnant witnesse: *Cum super Imperatorem nemo sit nisi solus Deus.* Seing there is no man above the Emperour, beside God alone, which made the Emperour; *Donatus*, by advancing himselfe above the Emperour, doth exceed the bounds of humanity, and maketh himselfe a God rather then man, in that hee feareth and reverenceth him not, whom all men should honour, next after God. So farre *Optatus*.

De schism. Donatist. l. 3.

Saint *Cyril* is of the same judgement. *Cui legis prevaricatores liberare licet nisi legis ipsius authori?* Who can acquit them that breake the law, from transgression, beside the Law-giver? as wee see by experience, in all humane states, no man can without danger, breake the law, but Kings themselves, in whom the crime of prevarication hath no place. For it was wisely said of one, that it is a wicked presumption, to say to a King, *Thou doest amisse*. So farre hee.

Com. in Evang. Ioh. l. 12. c. 36.

And also Saint *Chrysostome*. What meaneth the Apostle (saith hee) to require prayers and supplications, intercessions, and thansgiving, to bee made for all men? hee requireth this to bee done in the dayly service of the Church, and the perpetuall rite of Divine religion. For all the faithfull doe know, in what manner prayers are powred out before the Lord morning and evening, for all the world: even for Kings, and every man in authority. Some man will (peradventure) say, that, *for all*, must bee understood of all the faithfull. Which cannot bee the Apostles meaning, as may appeare by the words following, *viz. for*

In 1. epist. ad Timoth. c. 2. v. 1.

Kings:

Kings: seeing that Kings neither did then, nor in many ages after, serve the living God: but continued obstinately in infidelity, which by course of succession they had received: Thus farre *Chrysostome*. Our Moderne Reformers teach us that which *Paul* and *Chrysostome* neither knew nor beleeved, that wicked Princes are not to bee prayed for, but to be resisted, &c. See the preface before *Basilic. Dor.*

When the faction of *Eutiches* had prevailed against the Catholikes, *Leo* the first, had no other remedy then prayers to God, sighes, teares, and Petitions to the Emperour: *Omnes partium nostrarum Ecclesiæ, &c.* All the Churches of these parts, all wee Priests, even with sighs, and teares, beseech your Majesty, to command a generall Synod to bee held in *Italy*, that all offences being removed, there may remaine, neither errour in faith, nor division in love. Favour the Catholiques, grant liberty to protect the faith against Heretiques, defend the state of the Church from ruine, that Christ his right hand may support your Empire: Thus farre *Leo*. *Epist. 24. ad Theod. Imper.*

When *Gregory* the great was accused for the Murther of a Bishop in prison, hee wrote to one *Sabinianus*, to cleare him to the Emperour and Empresse. *Breviter suggeras serenissimis Dominis meis*: You may briefly enforme my soveraigne Lord and Lady, that if I their servant, would have busied my selfe with the death of the *Lombards*, that nation would by this time have had neither Kings, nor Dukes, nor Earles, and should have beene in great confusion and division: but because I stood in aw of God, I was ever afraid, to meddle with the shedding of any mans bloud: so farre *Gregory*. These *Lombards* were Pagans, Invaders of the Countrey, Ransackers of the City, Persecutours of the Saints, Robbers of the Church, Oppressours of the poore: whom *Gregory* the first, might, and would not destroy, *Quia Deum timuit*, because hee *feared God*. It is very like, that his Successour *Gregory* the seventh, feared either *God nor man*, when hee erected the Papall Croisier *Epist. lib. 7. epist. 1.*

againſt the regall ſcepter, and read the ſentence of deprivation, againſt the Emperour *Henry*: *Ego authoritate Apoſtolica, &c.* I by my power Apoſtolicall, doe bereave *Henry* of the *Germane* Kingdome, and doe deprive him of all ſubjection of Chriſtian men, abſolving all men, from the allegiance, which they have ſworne unto him. And that *Rodolph*, whom the Peeres of the Empire have elected, may governe the Kingdome: I grant all men, that ſhall ſerve him againſt the Emperour, forgiveneſſe of their ſinnes, in this life and in the life to come. As I have for his pride dejected *Henry* from the Royall dignity, ſo I doe exalt *Rodolph* for his humility, to that place of authority: Thus farre *Gregory* the ſeaventh.

Carol. Sigon. de Regno Ital. lib. 9. in vita Hen. 3.

Benno Card. in vit. Gregor. 7.

It is no wonder, that *Gregory* his chaire clave aſunder, as ſome Writers affirme, at the giving of this ſentence; becauſe the proud Pope, and his wicked ſentence, were too heavy a burthen for *Peters* ſtoole of humility to beare.

The fourth Chapter proveth the Immunity of Kings by the Fathers of the third 300. yeares.

AFter the death of *Gregory* the great, which was about the yeare of our Lord 604. *Sabinianus* did ſucceed him, who lived but one yeare, after whom came *Boniface* the third, which obtained of *Phocas* to bee called *Univerſall Biſhop*; ſince that time *Periit virtus Imperatorum & pietas Pontificum*, the Emperours waxed *weake*, and the *Biſhops wicked*. What the judgement of thoſe Fathers then was, concerning ſubjection to wicked Kings, I will make evident by the teſtimony of *Gregorius Turonenſis*, *Iſidorus*, *Damaſcenus*,

maſcenus, Beda, Fulgentius, Leo 4. and the Fathers aſſembled in a Councell at *Toledo* in *Spaine*.

Gregory Turonenſis acknowledgeth ſuch an abſolute power in *Childerick*, a moſt wicked King of *France*, as was free from all controll of man. *Si quis de nobis (Rex) juſtitiæ limites tranſcendere voluerit, &c.* If any one of us (O King) doe paſſe the bounds of juſtice, you have power to correct him, but if you exceed your limit, who ſhall chaſtice you? Wee may ſpeake unto you; if you liſt not to hearken, who can condemne you, but that *Great God*, who hath pronounced himſelfe to bee righteouſneſſe? *Hactenus ille.* *Hiſtor. l. 5. c. 1.*

Iſidorus ſaith no leſſe for the immunity of the Kings of *Spaine*. Let all earthly Princes know, that they ſhall give account of the Church, which Chriſt hath committed to their protection. Yea, whether the peace and diſcipline Eccleſiaſticall bee advanced, by faithfull Kings, or diſſolved by the unfaithfull, hee will require a reckoning at their hands, which hath left his Church in their power. So farre *Iſidorus*.

John Damaſcene pleadeth not onely for the exemption of wicked Kings themſelves, but alſo of their Deputies. The Governours (ſaith hee) which Kings create, though they bee wicked, though they bee theeves, though they bee unjuſt, or otherwiſe tainted with any crime, muſt bee regarded. Wee may not contemne them, for their impiety: but muſt reverence them, becauſe of their authority, by whom they were appointed our Governours. So farre hee. *Parallel. l. 1. c. 21.*

Fulgentius ſaith, that no kind of ſedition can ſtand with religion. *Cum pro noſtra fide libere reſpondemus, &c.* When wee anſwer freely for our profeſſion, wee ought not to bee taxed with the leaſt ſuſpition of diſobedience or contumely, ſeeing wee are not unmindfull of the Regall dignity, and doe know, that wee muſt feare God, and honour the King, according to the Doctrine of the Apoſtle, *Give to* *Fulgent. ad Thraſim reg*

each one his due, feare to whom feare, honour to whom honour ap-
1 Pet. 2. 17. *pertaineth* Of the which feare and honour, Saint *Peter* hath delivered unto us the manifeſt knowledge, ſaying, As the ſervants of God, honour all men, love brotherly fellowſhip, feare God, honour the King. Thus farre *Fulgentius*.

Our Countreyman *Beda*, for his great learning called
Lib. 4. expoſit. in Samuel. *Venerable*, is of the ſame mind. *David* (ſaith hee) for two
1 Sam. 21. 6. cauſes ſpared *Saul*, who had perſecuted him moſt maliciouſly. Firſt, for that hee was his Lord, annointed with holy oile. And ſecondly, to inſtruct us by morall precepts, that wee ought not to ſtrike our Governours, (though they unjuſtly oppreſſe us) with the ſword of our lips: nor preſume ſlanderouſly, to teare the hemme of their ſuperfluous actions. So farre hee.

Leo the fourth about the yeare 846. agniſed all ſubjection to *Lotharius* the Emperour: I doe profeſſe and promiſe
Cap. de capit. diſt. 15. (ſaith *Leo*) to obſerve and keepe unviolably, as much as lieth in me, for the time preſent and to come, your Imperiall ordinances and commandments: together with the decrees of your Biſhops, my Predeceſſours: If any man informe your Majeſty otherwiſe, know certainely, that hee is a lier. So farre *Leo*.

The Biſhops of *Spaine* aſſembled in a nationall Councell
Concil. Tol. 5. Can. 2. circa annum Dom. 636. at *Toledo*, made this decree againſt perjury and treaſon. *Quicunque amodo ex nobis*: Whoſoever among us ſhall from this time forward, violate the oath which hee hath taken for the ſafegard of this Country, the ſtate of the Gothiſh nation, and the preſervation of the Kings Majeſty: whoſoever ſhall attempt the Kings death, or depoſition: whoſoever ſhall by tyrannicall preſumption aſpire to the regall throne, let him bee accurſed before the holy Spirit, before the bleſſed Saints, let him bee caſt out of the Catholique Church, which hee hath polluted by perjury, let him have no communion with Chriſtian men, nor portion with the juſt, but let him be condemned with the Devill and his Angels.

gels eternally, together with his complices, that they may bee tied in the bond of damnation, which were joyned in the ſociety of ſedition. Thus farre the Fathers in that Synod.

I conclude therefore with theſe learned Fathers, that it is not for the people, otherwiſe then with humility and obedience, to controll the actions of their Governours: but their duty is onely to call upon the God of Heaven, and ſo ſubmit themſelves to his mercy, by whoſe ordinance the Scepter is fallen into his hand and power, that enjoyeth the Crowne, whether hee bee good or bad. A right of depoſing, muſt bee either in him that hath an higher power, which is onely God: or in him, that hath better right to the Crowne: which the Pope cannot have, becauſe hee is a ſtranger: nor the Peeres, or people, becauſe they are ſubjects. Bee the King for his Religion impious, for his Government unjuſt, for his life licentious, the ſubject muſt endure him, the Biſhop muſt reprove him, the Councellour muſt adviſe him, all muſt pray for him, and no mortall man hath authority to diſturbe or diſplace him, as may evidently bee ſeene by the Chapter following.

The fifth Chapter confirmeth this Doctrine by the Fathers of the fourth 300. *yeares.*

IN this age of the Church, the Popes exalted themſelves above all that is called God, and upon private diſpleaſures and quarrels, did curſe and baane Princes, incenſing their Neighbour-nations, and perſwading their owne ſubjects, to make warre againſt them, as if Chriſt had ordained his Sacraments, not to bee ſeales of grace,

and helps of our faith, but hookes to catch Kingdomes, and rods to scourge such Potentates as would not, or could not procure the Popes favour. How farre these Popish practises, did displease the godly and learned, I will shew by Saint *Bernard*, *Walthramus* Bishop of *Naumberg*, the Epistle *Apologeticall* of the Church of *Leige* against *Paschalis* the Pope, and the Authour of *Henry* the fourth his life.

Saint *Bernard*, in one of his Sermons upon the words of CHRIST; *I am the vine*, commendeth the answer of a certaine King, *Bene quidam Rex, cum percussus humana sagitta, &c.* It was well said of a King when hee was shot into the body with an arrow, and they that were about him, desired him to bee bound untill the arrowes head were cut out, for that the least motion of his body would endanger his life: no (quoth hee) it doth not beseeme a King to bee bound, let the Kings power bee ever safe and at liberty. And the same Father in an Epistle to *Ludovicus Crassus* the King of *France* teacheth subjects, how to rebell and fight against their Princes; *Quicquid vobis de Regno vestro, de Anima & Corona vestra facere placuerit:* Whatsoever you please to doe with your Kingdome, your Soule, or your Crowne, wee that are the Children of the Church cannot endure or dissemble the injuries, contempt, and conculcation of our Mother. Questionlesse wee will stand and fight even unto death in our Mothers behalfe, and use such weapons, as wee may lawfully, I meane not swords and speares, but prayers and teares to God.

Bernard. Epist. 221.

When *Gregory* the seaventh had deposed *Henry* the fourth, hee gave away the Empire to one *Rodolphus* Duke of *Saxony*, that was a sworne subject to that distressed Emperour; which *Rodolp*, in a battaile against his Soveraigne Lord, lost his *right-hand*, and gained a deadly wound. After his death, the Pope made one *Hermanus* King of *Germany*, who enjoyed his Kingdome but a little time, for hee was slaine with a stone, which a woman threw upon him from

from a turret, as hee made an assault (in sport) against his owne Castle, to try the valour of his souldiers. Then did *Egbertus*, by the Popes encouragement ascend the Imperiall throne, whereon he sate but a while: for as hee stepped aside from his army into a mill, to rest himselfe in the heat of the day, hee was discovered by the miller to the Emperours friends, and lost his life for his labour. During this hurly-burly in that state *Walthramus* a godly Bishop, wrote to one *Ludovicus* an Earle of the Empire, diswading him from partaking with the seditious against that good Emperour, whom the Pope had deposed. *Walteram* by the grace of God, that hee is, to *Lewes* the noble Prince, with instance of prayer, offreth himselfe in all things serviceable. Concord is profitable to every Realme, and justice much to bee desired: these vertues are the Mother of devotion, and the consecration of all honesty. But whosoever seeketh after civill dissention, and incenseth other to the effusion of bloud, hee is a murtherer, and partaketh with him, who gaping for bloud, goeth about seeking whom hee may devoure: The worthy vessell of election, that was taken up to the third Heaven, protesteth, saying, Let every Soule submit himselfe to the higher power, there is no power but from God. Hee that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God. If that bee true (which some men prate among women and the vulgar sort) that wee ought not to bee subdued to the Kingly power, Then it is false which the Apostle teacheth, that every Soule must submit himselfe under power and superiority. Can the truth lie? did not Christ the Lord speake by the Apostle? Why doe wee provoke the Lord? are wee stronger then hee? Doth not hee thinke himselfe stronger then the Lord, that resisteth the ordinance of God? seeing there is no power but of God: what saith the Prophet? Confounded bee they that strive against the Lord, and they that resist him shall perish. *Rodolphus, Hermannus, Egbertus*, with many other Princes, resisted the ordinance of God, in *Henry* the Emperour, but loe they

Ex vita Henr. quarti quæ habetur in fasciculo rerum sciendarum Coloniæ impresso.

Epist. Walth. quæ habetur in appendice Marian. Scot.

they are confounded, as though they had never beene, for as their end was ill, their beginning could not be good, &c. *Hæc ille.*

Pope *Paschalis* seeing the bad successe of those seditious subjects, which his Predecessours *Gregory* and *Vrbanus* had armed against *Henry*, that worthy Emperour: did perswade the Emperours owne Sonne, against all Law of God, Nature, and Nations, to rebell against his Father. The Bishop of *Leige* tooke the Emperours part, against this young Prince, for the which hee was excommunicate, his Church interdicted, and *Robert* Earle of *Flanders* commanded by the Pope, as hee hoped to have the forgivenesse of his sinnes, and the favour of the Church of *Rome*, to destroy that Bishop and his false Priests.

The Churchmen of *Leige* terrified with the Popes excommunication, and fearing the Earles oppression, wrote an *Apologie* for themselves about the yeare 1106. Wee are excommunicate (say they) because wee obey our Bishop, who hath taken part with his Lord the Emperour. These are the beginnings of sorrow: for Sathan beeing loosed, compasseth the earth, and hath made a division betweene the Prince and the Priest: who can justly blame the Bishop that taketh his Lords part, to whom hee hath sworne allegiance? perjury is a great sinne, whereof they cannot bee ignorant, that by new Schisme and novell tradition, doe promise to absolve subjects from the guilt of perjury, that forsweare themselves to their Lord the King, &c.

Epistol. Leodiensium apud Simonem Scard.

In the progresse of their *Apologie* they determine three great questions: First, whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings? Secondly, to whom it belongeth to inflict temporall punishment, when Church-men offend against faith, unity, or good manners? And thirdly, what remedy subjects have against their Kings, that are impious or tyrannous? *Si quis respectu sancti Spiritus, &c.* If any man having respect to the Spirit of God, shall turne over the old and new Testament, he shall plainely find that Kings,

ought

ought not at all or very hardly be excommunicate, whether wee conſider the Etimologie of their names, or the nature of their excommunication. Even till this day hath this point beene queſtioned, and never determined. Kings may bee admoniſhed and reproved, by ſuch as bee diſcreet and ſober men, for Chriſt the King of Kings in earth, who hath placed them in his owne ſtead, hath reſerved them to his owne judgement, &c.

Their anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, is grounded on the teſtimony of Saint *Auguſtine*, the practiſe of Princes, and the authority of *Paul*. Kings (ſay they) and Emperours by their publike Lawes, have forbidden Heretiques, to enjoy any Worldly poſſeſſion. Wherefore ſeeing wee are no Heretiques, and that it belongeth not to the Pope, but to Kings and Emperours to puniſh Hereſies, why doth our Lord *Paſchalis*, ſend *Robert*, his Armour-bearer, to deſtroy the poſſeſſions and to overthrow the Villages of the Churches, which in caſe they deſerved deſtruction, ought to bee deſtroyed by the edict of Kings and Emperours, which cary the ſword not without good cauſe? &c.

For anſwer to the third queſtion, they ſhew by ſundry places of Scripture, that there is no other helpe againſt evill Princes, then prayer and patience. *Nihil modo pro Imperatore noſtro dicimus, &c.* Wee will for the preſent ſay nothing in defence of our Emperour, but this wee ſay, though hee were as bad as you report him to bee, wee would endure his government, becauſe our ſinnes have deſerved ſuch a Governour. Bee it: wee muſt needs grant againſt our will, that the Emperour is an Arch-heretike, an invader of the Kingdome, a worſhipper of the *Simoniacall* Idoll, and accurſed by the Apoſtles and Apoſtolike men, as you ſay of him: even ſuch a Prince ought not to bee reſiſted by violence, but endured by patience and prayer. *Moſes* brought many plagues upon *Pharaoh*, whoſe heart God had hardened, but it was by prayer and the lifting up his hands to Heaven. And Saint *Paul* requireth prayers to bee made

for all men, for Kings and such as are in authority: which Kings were neither Catholikes nor Christians. *Baruch* also from the mouth of the Prophet *Jeremy*, wrote unto the Iewes, which were captives unto the King of *Babylon*, that they must pray for the life of *Nabuchodonoser* the King of *Babylon*, and *Balthazar* his Sonne, that their dayes in earth may bee as the dayes of Heaven, &c. Saint *Paul* teacheth why wee ought to pray for evill Kings, namely, that under them wee may lead a quiet life. It would become an Apostolike man, to follow the Apostles Doctrine: it were propheticall to follow the Prophet, &c. *Thus farre they in their Epistle Apologeticall.*

Epist. Leod.

Vita Henr. 4. quo supra.

Hee that wrote the life of this Emperour *Henry* the fourth, an ancient, a modest, and impartiall Relatour of such occurrents as happened in his time, declareth his dislike of the Popes practises, and the *Germanes* tumults against their said soveraigne Lord. *Magnum Mundo documentum datum est:* A great instruction was given to the World that no man should rise against his Master. For the hand of *Rodolph* being cut off, shewed a most just punishment of perjury; hee feared not to violate his fidelity sworne to the King, and his right hand was punished, as if other wounds had not beene sufficient to bring him to his death, that by the plague of the rebellious, the fault of rebellion might bee perceived: Thus farre hee.

The sixth Chapter proveth the same by the testimony of the Writers from the 12. hundred yeares downeward.

I Will for conclusion produce *Otho Frinsingensis*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Gratianus*, *Philip* the faire King of *France*, the Parliament of *England* in the time of *Edward* the first, *Vincentius*,

ventius, and *Æneas Silvius* that afterward was Pope, by the name of *Pius secundus*.

Otho Frisingensis hath an excellent saying in his Epistle Dedicatory to *Frederick Barbarossa*; *Cum nulla persona mundialis inveniatur quæ mundi legibus non subjaceat, &c.* Although no earthly man can bee found, that is not subject to the Lawes of the World, and in respect of subjection, liable to correction: Kings as it were placed over Lawes, are not restrained by them, but reserved to the examination of God, according to the words of the King and Prophet, *Against thee onely have I sinned.* It becommeth therefore a King, both in respect of the noble disposition of his mind, and the spirituall illumination of his soule, to have God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, ever in his mind, and by all meanes possible, to take heed, that hee fall not into the hands of God, seeing it is (as the Apostle saith) a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God. It is more fearefull for Kings, then for any other; because Kings have none but God himselfe above them, whom they need feare. It shall bee so much more horrible for them, by how much they may offend more freely then other men. So farre *Otho*. *Otho Frising.* in his Epistle Dedicatory before his Chronicle. Psal. 51. 5.

Thomas Aquinas, (if the Tractate *De regimine Principum* bee his) maketh three sorts of Kings: Kings by *election*, Kings by *subordination*, and Kings by *succession*. For the first hee saith, that they which did establish, may abolish: for the second, wee must have our recourse to him that did surrogate the subordinate King: as the Iewes did to *Cæsar* against *Herod*: for the last, his resolution is *Recurrendum esse ad omnium Regem Deum*, that wee must flie to God, the King of all Kings, in whose onely power it is, to mollifie the cruell heart of a Tyrant. And that men, may obtaine this at the hands of God, they must cease from sinne; for wicked Princes, by Divine permission are exalted to punish the sinnes of the people, *Tollenda est igitur culpa ut cessat Tyrannorum plaga*; Wee must therefore remove our *Aquin. de regimine Princ. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

sinnes, that God may take away his punishment: Thus farre *Thomas*.

Gratianus, which compiled the decrees, is very peremptory, that the Bishop of *Rome*, ought not to meddle with the temporall sword, the state of Common-wealths, or the change of Princes. Hee saith nothing indeed *De Regni ordinibus*, which in his time, and a 100. yeares after him, never dreamed of any such authority. *Cum Petrus qui primus Apostolorum à Domino fuerat electus, materialem gladium exerceret*: When Peter whom the Lord had first chosen of all the Apostles, drew the materiall sword, to defend his Master from the injuries of the Iewes, hee was commanded to sheath his sword: *For all that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.* As if Christ should have said, Hitherto it was lawfull for thee and thine Ancestours to persecute Gods enemies with the temporall sword, hereafter thou must put up that sword into his place, and draw the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, to slay the old man: whosoever beside the Prince, and without his authority, that hath lawfull power, and as the Apostle teacheth, *Beareth not the sword in vaine*, to whom every soule must bee subject, whosoever (I say) without or beside the Princes authority, beareth the sword, shall perish by the sword: Thus farre *Gratian*.

Matth. 26. 52.

Caus. 23. quest. 8. parag. 1.

Rom. 13. 4.

About the yeare a 1300. beganne a quarrell betweene *Boniface* the eight, and *Philippus Pulcher* the *French* King, about the collation of benefices, Prebends, and other Ecclesiasticall promotions. Whereupon the Pope wrote unto the said King, as followeth: *Boniface* Bishop, the servant of Gods servants, to his wel-beloved Sonne *Philip*, by Gods grace King of *France*, Greeting, and blessing Apostolicall. Feare God and keepe his law: Wee give thee to understand that thou art subject to us both in spirituall things, and temporall, and that no gift of benefices or Prebends belongeth to thee. If thou have in thy hand any vacant, keepe the profits of them to the Successours, and

and if thou haſt beſtowed any, wee decree the collation void, and recall it, how farre ſoever it hath proceeded. Whoſoever beleeveth otherwiſe, wee account him a foole: Dated at *Lateran* the fourth of the Calends of *December*, and in the ſixth yeare of our Papacy. King *Philip* returned his haughtineſſe, a correſpondent anſwer, *viz.* *Philip* by the grace of God, King of *France*, to *Boniface* bearing himſelfe for Pope, *Salutem modicam ſive nullam. Sciat tua maxima fatuitas.* Little health or none at all. Let thy great fooleſhip know, that in temporall things wee are ſubject to no man. And that the gifts of Prebends and Eccleſiaſticall promotions, made, and to bee made by us, were and ſhall bee lawfull, both in time paſt and in time to come. For ſuch collations belong to us in the right of our Crowne: wherefore, wee will manfully defend the Poſſeſſours of the ſaid dignities, and doe judge them that thinke otherwiſe fooles and mad men; Given at *Paris* the Wedneſday after *Candlemaſſe*, 1301. Queſtionleſſe this King that did ſo ſcornefully reject the Popes chalenge pretended from Chriſt, would little regard the claime of the Nobles, derived but from the people. *Philip. Pulcher.*

The ſame buſie *Boniface*, of whom ſome write, that hee came in like a *Fox* craftely, raigned like a *Lyon* cruelly, and died like a *Dogge* miſerably, would take upon him the deciſion of a controverſie betweene the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, and commanded King *Edward* of *England* either to ceaſe his claime, or to ſend his Procuratours to the Apoſtolike ſea, to ſhew his right, and to receive ſuch order from the Pope, as juſtice and equity would require. The Lords and Commons then aſſembled in Parliament at *Lincolne* ſent *Boniface* this anſwer in the Kings behalfe. Whereas our moſt dread Lord *Edward* by the grace of God, the Noble King of *England*, cauſed your Letters to bee read openly before us, touching certaine occurrents of ſtate betweene him and the King of *Scotland*, wee did not a little marvaile at the contents thereof, ſo ſtrange and

wonderfull, as the like hath neuer beene heard of. Wee know (most Holy Father) and it is well knowne in this Realme, and also to other Nations, that the King of *England* ought not to make answer for his right before any Iudge Ecclesiasticall or secular: by reason of the free estate of his Royall dignity and custome, without breach at all times unviolably obserued: Wherefore after treaty had and diligent deliberation, this was our resolution, that our said King ought not to answer in iudgement, nor send Procuratours or Messengers to your Court: seeing that tendeth manifestly to the disinheriting of the right of the Crowne, the overthrow of the state of the Kingdome, and the breach of the liberties, customes, and lawes of our Fathers, for the keeping whereof, wee are bound by the duty of an oath, and will (by Gods helpe) maintaine and defend with all our power and strength, &c. Dated at *Lincolne Ann. Dom.* 1301. *& Anno Edwardi primi* 29. This was then the resolution of the State of this Land: if our late Sectaries *Popish* or *Puritan*, bring in any other Doctrine, wee may not leave the cawsey of truth and obedience, whereon our Fore-fathers walked to their commendation, to follow these new guides, in their bypaths of pride, disobedience, and contempt of authority, to our destruction.

Parliament at *Lincolne* quoted by M. *Bekenshaw.*

Vincentius in his *Speculo Historiali* hath a notable place to diswade from sedition and perjury. *Vt pace omnium honorum dixerim, haec sola novitas (ne dicam Haeresis) nec dum è Mundo emersérat.* That I may speake with the favour of all good men, this meere novelty (if not Heresie) was not sprung up in the World, that Priests should teach subjects, that they owe no subjection to wicked Kings, and albeit they have given an oath of fidelity unto them, they are not bound to keepe it: Nay, they that obey an evill Prince, are to bee held as excommunicated, and all such as rebell against him, are free from the guilt of the crime of perjury. So farre hee.

Lib. 15. c. 84.

I will

I will end this Chapter with *Æneas Silvius*, who died in the yeare 1464. *Sit tandem finis litium*, Let there bee an end of contention, and one principall head to determine all temporall matters: let the occasion of perpetuall debate bee taken away, let men acknowledge themselves subject to their Prince, and give reverence to him, whom God hath made his vicegerent on Earth. As that which God commandeth must bee obeyed without contradiction, so the temporall Commandements of Cæsar, may not bee resisted. But let the Kings themselves beware that they oppresse no man unjustly, nor give their people cause to crie to God against them, for the Earth is the Lords and the fulnesse thereof: hee will not forget the crie of the poore: and for the sinne of the Prince hee translateth the Government from one Nation to another. There is nothing more offensive to the greatest God, the King and Creatour of Heaven and Earth, then the neglect of justice, and the oppression of the poore: as the Psalmist saith, The poore shall not alway bee forgotten, and the patient abiding of the needy shall not perish for ever. So farre *Silvius*.

Pius 2. de ortu & author. Imperii c. 23.

The seaventh Chapter sheweth the concord of Papist and Puritan for the deposition of Kings, and their discord about the meanes and persons to bee imployed in the execution of their designements.

Hilderick was deposed, and *Pipine* crowned King of *France* about the yeare 750. The truth of which History is this. *Childerick* void of all princely gravity, gave himselfe over to pleasure and wantonnesse, leaving the burthen of the state to *Pipinus*, that was his Lord *Majordome*.

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Who conspired with the Nobles to advance himselfe, by the deposition of the King his Master. To set a better colour on the matter, *Pipine* sent his Chaplaine to Pope *Zachary*, to have his answer to this Question: *Whether should bee King, hee that bare the name and did nothing, or hee that governed the Kingdom?* The Pope gave sentence with the Marshall against the King, whereupon, *Childerick* was made a shorne Monke, and *Pipine* a crowned King.

It is a wonder to see how these opposite Sectaries, doe insist upon this fact of the *French-men*, to justifie their dangerous doctrine, and seditious conspiracies against Princes. As Cardinall *Bellarmine de Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 17. Thomas Harding* against the *Apologie* of the Church of *England, fol. 181. Franc. Fevardentius* in his Commentaries on *Hester, pag. 85. Boucher alias Raynolds de justa abdicatione Henrici 3. lib. 3. cap. 14. Ficklerus de jure Magistratuum fol. 30. Alexander Carerius patavinus de potestate Papa, lib. 2. cap. 3. D. Marta de temporali & spirituali Pontificis potestate, lib. 1. c. 23.* and *Doleman in his conference touching succession part. 1. cap. 3. pag. 48.* And also these *Puritans, Christopher Goodman in his treatise of obedience, pag. 53. George Buchanan de jure Regni apud Scotos, pag. 47. Danaus de politia Christiana lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 221. Brutus Celta de jure Magistratuum, pag. 286. Phyladelphus dialogo 2. pag. 65. Franc. Hottomanus* in his *Francogallia cap. 12.* and *Speculum tyrannidis Philipi Regis pag. 27.* The Papists which ascribe this deposing power to the Pope, endeavour by tooth and naile, to disprove that interest which the Puritans grant the Peeres, or the people. First, this example served *Gregory* the seventh to excuse his presumptous practises against *Henry* the fourth. *Quidam Romanus Pontifex:* A certaine Bishop of *Rome* deposed a King of *France*, not so much for his ill life, as for that hee was not fit for government, and placed *Pipine*, which was Father to *Charles* the great in his place: absolving all the *French-men* from the oath of allegeance, which they had sworne to their King. Thus farre

Lib. de unit. Eccles. apud Scard. pag. 3.

farre *Gregory* in an Epistle to one *Herimannus*, that was Bishop of *Metz* in *France*.

Thomas Harding concludeth from this fact, a Divine power in the Pope. Can you not see (saith *Harding*) what strength and power is in the Pope, which is able with a word, to place and displace the mightiest King in *Europe*? with a word, I say, for I am sure you can shew us of no army, that hee sent to execute his will. Is it in the power of man (thinke you) to appoint Kingdomes? can the Devill himselfe, at his pleasure set up and depose Kings? no surely. Much lesse can any member of his doe the same. Remember you what CHRIST said, when the Iewes objected, that hee did cast out Devils in the name of the Prince of Devils? beware you sinne not against the holy Ghost, who confesse that the Pope hath pulled downe and set up Kings. Which thing undoubtedly hee could never doe profitably and peaceably, but by the great power of God, &c. So farre *Harding*. Confut. of the Apolog. fol. 181.

Cardinall *Bellarmine* the Grand-master of Controversies, cannot endure to heare that this deposition was done by any other then the Papall authority. The Pope (saith hee) *Iudicavit licere Francis, regnum Childerici in Pipinum transferre*. The Pope gave judgement that the *Frenchmen* might lawfully transferre *Childericks* Kingdome to *Pipin*: and did absolve them from the oath which they had sworne unto him. No man that hath his right wit can deny this to be lawfull. For the very event hath proved, that change to bee most fortunate: seeing the Kingdome of *France*, was never more potent, nor Religion more flourishing, then under *Pipin* and *Charles* his Sonne. Thus farre *Bellarmine*. De Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 17.

This Cardinals reason from the successe to the approbation of the fact, will conclude well for the *Turke*, who hath longer continued, more flourished and inlarged his state, then the House of *Pipin*. Heare in a word the true successe of *Pipins* posterity out of *Beneventus Imolensis* and *Paulus Æmilius*. Beneventus Imolensis.

Æmilius. The firſt of that line was *Charles* the great, in whoſe time the Empire was divided. The ſecond was *Ludovicus Pius*, againſt whom *Lotharius*, an unnaturall Sonne, did conſpire: who thruſt his Father to a Cloiſter, and placed himſelfe in the Throne, where hee ſate like a Tyrant, till hee was alſo depoſed. The fourth was *Ludovicus ſecundus*, a man unfortunate in all his doings. The fifth was *Ludovicus tertius*, whom they call *Ludovicus nihili*, or *Lewis* no-body. The ſixth was *Charles* the *Bald*, a very Coward. The ſeventh was *Carolus Craſſus*, as very a Foole. *Arnulphus* the eight of that progeny, was eaten with lice. The ninth was *Ludovicus quartus*, in whom that race ended.

Paulus Aemilius.

Alexander Carerius inferreth the abſolute ſoveraignty of the Pope over all Kings, even to depoſe them, and to tranſpoſe their Realmes, from the inſufficiency of the Nobles and People. *Eſto quod verùm ſit Papam, non depoſuiſſe Regem Franciæ*: Bee it true that the Pope did not depoſe the King of *France*, but gave conſent to the Peeres and People to depoſe him, this is a moſt manifeſt proſe of our intent: that Kings have one, if not many ſuperiours, *viz.* the Barons and people of their Kingdome: and overthroweth their poſition and concluſion, *That Kings have in temporall things no ſuperiour*, no, not the Biſhop of *Rome*. But ſeeing the Barons and People could neither judge nor deprive him, becauſe they wanted coactive power, which Vaſſals or Subjects have not over their Soveraigne, it followeth neceſſarily, that the Pope by his Princely power, as ſuperiour to the King in temporalties, might lawfully depoſe him. Thus farre *Carerius*.

De poteſt. Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 3. num. 6.

D. Marta, is as peremptory for the Pope, againſt the pretended claime of the Peeres, or the People. *Childericus privatus eſt Regno Franciæ ob ſtupiditatem & ineptitudinem in adminiſtrando*: *Childerick* was deprived of the Kingdome of *France*, for his ſtupidity and unfitneſſe to governe. They that ſay hee was not deprived by the Pope alone, but

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by them that desired another King, doe not answer the reasons alleadged for the Popes Soveraigne power in temporalties: nay, they confirme the Popes power. *Baldus* asketh this question, when the Emperour is unprofitable, or mad, or a drunkard, may the people depose him, or assigne him a Coadjutor? No, saith hee, the Pope must doe it, *for the Pope is the crowne and braine of the people.* And wee have proved before, that God did give no jurisdiction to the people, but to *Moses* and his Successours. Wherefore the Vassals or Peeres which represent the people, have no power common with the Pope, in the deposing of Princes. And in that they say, that the *Frenchmen* desired another King, it is a great confirmation, that the Pope hath right to dispose of Kingodmes. Hee useth to desire, who hath not of his owne: or cannot of himselfe effect that, which he would have done: Thus farre *Marta.* *De temp. & spir. Pontif. potest. part. 1. cap. 23. num. 15. 16. 17.*

They that plead for the state of the Laity, are as confident against the Pope and Clergy. *Vt paucis dicam* (saith *Junius*) *hoc fecit Zacharias ut Dominus aut ut mandatarius, authoritate instructus à Domino,* that I may use few words, the Pope deposed *Childerick* either as his Lord, or as a mandatary having authority from the Lord; but hee did it neither way. Not as Lord, how could hee bee Lord in *France*, that in those dayes had no Lordship in *Rome*? hee did it not as mandatary, for then hee ought to have shewed his authority, which hee neither did, nor could shew. CHRIST would not divide a private inheritance, shall *Zachary* then presume to depose Kings, or transpose Kingdomes. Thus farre *Junius.*

Caterum quod Monachus iste (saith *Lambertus Danæus*) whereas this Monke *Bellarmine* contendeth, that *Childerick* was lawfully deposed by Pope *Zacharias*, a stranger, a Priest, no Magistrate, but (in this respect) a private person, though hee were Bishop of *Rome.* Will hee ever bee able to prove or defend his assertion? Can *Zachary* have authority in *France*, being a stranger? can hee depose the publike Magi- *Resp. Dane. ad Bellar. l. 2. cap. 17. pag. 316.*

ſtrate, being but a private perſon? or transferre that principality to *Pipin* that hee hath no right unto? and commit ſo many ſacriledges and impieties, ſtealing from *Childerick*, and giving to *Pipin* another mans right? authoriſing ſubjects to violate their oaths, which they had ſworne to their King? tranſpoſing Kingdomes from one man to another, whereas it doth onely belong to God to depoſe Kings, and diſpoſe of Kingdomes? thou maiſt ſee (*Bellarmine*) how many outrages this thy *Zachary* hath committed, beſide that hee did thruſt his ſickle into an other mans harveſt, and medled with the cobler beyond his laſt, in that, being but a Prieſt hee tooke upon him the deciſion of the right of Kingdomes. Thus farre *Danæus*, who is not ſo violent againſt the Pope, as hee is virulent for the depoſing power of Peeres, or States of the Kingdome. The Kings (ſaith hee) of *Lacedemonia* had the *Ephori* to controll them. The States-men of the *Romane* Common-wealth, depoſed the Emperours, which were Tyrants, and abuſed their authority. The *French-ſtate* hath often dethroned their Kings: The Nobles of *Spaine* may doe it by their Law: And the Hiſtory of the *Scottiſh* affaires (excellently well written by * *Buchanan*) doth report that the States-men of that Countrey, have many times deprived the Kings of *Scotland*. Finally, naturall reaſon, and the practiſe of all nations doth confirme, that the States-men in every Kingdome, may depoſe Kings, that are peccant. So farre hee. *Hottoman* in his *Franco Gallia*, hath a long Chapter to prove that this might bee done lawfully, by the Peeres, or the People, but in no caſe by the Pope or the Clergy.

Danæus pol. Chriſt. l. 6. c. 3. pag. 414.

* *Multa multum ſcabit.*

Cap. 13.

Men cannot ſay (as it is in the proverbe) *Nimium altercando veritas amittitur*, ſeing that in this oppoſition, the truth is not loſt, but divided among them. For their premiſſes, brought together, will unadvoidably conclude, that this depoſing power, is neither in the Pope, the Peeres, nor the People. Though it were, the reaſon of the ſeditious Papiſts and Puritans, *à facto ad jus*, is ſophiſticall in the Schooles,

Schooles, where nothing can bee concluded *Ex meris particularibus*, of meere particular instances. Absurd in law, *Quia legibus non exemplis vivitur*, for men must doe as the law requireth, not as other men practise. Erroneous in Divinity, *Non ideo quia factum credimus, facienda credamus, ne violemus præceptum, dum sectamur exemplum*. We may not do that, which hath bin done by other men, least we break the law of God, in following the example of man. And dangerous in policy, as my *Lord of Northampton*, the ornament of learning, observeth. "The flie (saith that noble Earle) sitting on the "cart wheele, might as well wonder at the dust raised in "the way, as *Gregory* or *Zachary*, draw counsell to power, "and make that fact their owne, which was hammered in "the forge of ambition, countenanced with the colour of "necessity, and executed by *Pipin*, a Minister, that being "weary of subordination, resolved by this trick, when the "meanes were fitted and prepared to the plot, to make "himself absolute. The case of Kings were pitifull, if *Ex factis singularibus*, it were lawfull to draw leaden rules in their disgrace. Thus farre the Earle.

Augustin. ad Consen. de mendac. cap. 9.

The eight Chapter sheweth the danger of this Doctrine, and the originall of the Puritan position, concerning the power of Statesmen to punish and depose Princes in Monarchies.

THese desperate attempts, suggested by the Devill, executed by the people, encouraged by the state, and approved by the Pope, must serve as admonitions to Princes, to humble themselves before God: *Qui non dabit sanctos suos in captionem dentibus eorum*; Who will not give his Saints

for a prey to their teeth. For it is not heard (as our great King remembreth) *That any Prince forgetteth himselfe in his duty to God, or in his vocation? But God with the greatnesse of the plague revengeth the greatnesse of his ingratitude.*

Law of Monarch. p. 60.

These practises therefore must bee no president for Peeres, or People to follow, because God hath forbidden Christian subjects to resist, though Kings raigne as Tyrants, and commanded them to endure with patience, though they suffer as Innocents. And also, because that in stead of relieving the Common-wealth out of distresse, which is ever the pretence of seditious practitioners, they shall heape mischeefe on it, and desolation on themselves: as (*Aquinas*) if hee bee the Authour of the Booke *De Regimine Principum*, sheweth manifestly. *Esset multitudini periculosum & ejus rectoribus*: It were dangerous to Subjects and Governours, that any should attempt to take away the life of Princes, though they were Tyrants: for commonly, not the well disposed, but the ill affected men, doe thrust themselves into that danger. And the Government of good Kings, is as odious to bad men, as the rule of Tyrants to good people. Wherefore the Kingdome, by this presumption would bee rather in danger to forgoe a good Prince, then a wicked Tyrant. So farre *Thomas*.

De reg. Princ. lib. 1. cap. 6.

They that are the Authours or abettors of sedition, can neither avoid shame in earth, nor escape eternall damnation. Though God the great Iudge doe sometime permit rebels, in his Iustice to prevaile against Kings, for their contempt of the law of the highest, and the neglect of their owne duty; The reward of rebellion shall bee no better then the recompence of Sathan, who is the instrument of the Lords wrath for the punishment of all disobedience. It is most true that as sick men, neere their death, have many idle fancies, so the World before the end thereof shall bee troubled with many errours. In these declining dayes of the World, many Countreyes, Cities, and Cantons, renounced their old Government, and submitted themselves to such a

Chrysostome

new

ew regiment as they best liked: for confirmation of which practises, there wanted not politike Divines, (what wine so soure that some hedge grapes will not yeeld) to invest the people and Nobles with the power over Kings, to dispose of their Kingdomes. The Heathen *Politicians* from whom this politike Divinity is derived, knowing not the true God, and having no rule to direct them, but naturall reason, thought him no murtherer, but *a Defender of his Country that killed Tyrants*. But this pagan principle, being a plant that CHRIST hath not planted, must bee plucked up by the rootes. I can find no ground of this lewd learning, beyond 220. yeares in the Christian World: The first Authours of it being *Johannes de Parisiis, Iacobus Almain,* and *Marsilius Patavinus: Vbi peccat Rex in temporalibus,* saith *Iohannes de Parisiis, Papa non habet ipsum corrigere:* When the King offended in the temporall Government, the Pope hath no authority to correct him, but the Barons or Peeres of the Realme, and if they either cannot, or dare not meddle with him, they may crave the Churches aid to suppresse him: so farre *Iohn* of *Paris*.

Ioh. de Paris de potest. Regia & Papali, cap. 14.

Tota communitas (saith *Iacob Almain*) *potestatem habet Principem deponere.* All the communalty, hath power to depose their Prince, which power the communalty of *France* used, when they deprived their King, not so much for his impiety, as for his disability to mannage so great a charge: so farre *Almain. Regis depositio & alterius institutio* (saith *Marsilius Patavinus*) the deposition of a King, and the institution of another in his place, belongeth not to the Bishop of *Rome*, to any Priest, or to the Colledge of Priests, but to the universall multitude of the Subjects. So farre hee.

Iacob Almain de potest. Eccl. cap. 1.

Marsil. Patav. de transl. Imperii cap 6.

From these, the Puritans have learned their errour of the *power of States-men over Kings*, then which, no opinion can bee more dangerous: where the Nobility are as ready to practise, as the Puritan Preachers are to prescribe. What presumption is it in man, to passe the bounds which God hath

hath set them, to controll the wisedome of the Lord, and his unspeakable goodnesse, when hee maketh triall of the patience of his Saints, by the outrage and tyranny of cruell Kings, that they which are found patient in trouble, constant in truth, and loyall in subjection, may bee crowned with glory. Were we perswaded, that the *hearts of Kings are in Gods hand*, that the haires of our head are numbred, and that no affliction can befall us, which God doth not dispose to the exercise of our faith, the triall of our constancy, or the punishment of our sinne, wee would as well admire the justice of God, in permitting Tyrants, that our sinnes may bee judged, and punished in this World, as praise his mercy and favour, in giving rest to his servants, under the protection of godly and gracious Princes.

The ninth Chapter sheweth the generall consent of the Moderne Puritans touching the coercion, deposition, and killing of Kings whom they call Tyrants.

THe Citizens of *Geneva*, changed the Government from a *Monarchy* to a *Democrity* in the yeare of Christ, 1536. In the which yeare, *Iohn Calvin* came into that City, to visit his friend *Farellus*; And was chosen the publike reader of Divinity. At his first comming thither, hee published his *Theologicall institutions*. Wherein hee doth very learnedly, and Christianly intreat of the authority of Princes, and the duty of subjects. One onely place is harsh, and dangerous: delivered in obscure, and doubtfull tearmes, to excuse (as I conceive) the outrage of the Citizens, against their Prince, whom they had not many weekes before expelled: not to authorise other men to attempt the like against

against their soveraigne Magistrates. His words are these, *Si qui sunt populares Magistratus, ad moderandam regum libidinem constituti.* If there bee any popular Magistrates, to restraine the licentiousnesse of Kings, of which kind were the *Ephori* opposed against the *Lacedæmonian* Kings, the Tribunes of the people, which curbed the *Romane* Consuls, and the Demarchy which bridled the Senate of *Athens*; And such peradventure as things now stand are the three states in every Kingdome, assembled in Parliament. I doe not deny, but these in regard of their duty, stand bound to represse the unrulinesse of licentious Kings: Nay, I affirme, that if they doe but winke at those Kings, which peevishly make havock of their people, and insult against their communalty, that they want not the guilt of hainous treachery, because they betray the liberty of the people, whose guardians they know themselves to bee appointed. Thus farre *Calvin*. Since which time all Puritans have turned his conjunction *conditionall*, into an *illative*, his adverb of *doubting* to an *affirmative*, and his permissive, *Non veto*, into a verb of the *imperative mode*, in their bookes of regiment secular, and Discipline Ecclesiasticall. *Instit. lib. 4. cap. 20. Sect. 31.*

Christopher Goodman, published a treatise of obedience at *Geneva*, not without the very good liking and approbation of the best learned in that City, 1557. wherein hee affirmeth, That if Magistrates trangresse Gods law themselves, and command others to doe the like, they loose that honour, and obedience which otherwise is due unto them: and ought no more to bee taken for Magistrates: but to bee examined and punished as private Transgressours: So farre *Goodman*. *Pag. 119.*

Much about the same time was *Knoxe* his *appellation* printed in the same place, wherein hee feareth not to affirme, That it had beene the duty of the Nobility, Iudges, Rulers, and people of *England* not onely to have resisted *Mary*, that *Iezabel* whom they call their Queene, but also to have punished her to the death, with all such as *Geneva fol. 56.*

should have assisted her, what time that shee openly beganne to suppresse Christs Gospell, to shed the bloud of the Saints, and to erect that most Devilish Idolatry, the Papisticall abhominations, and his usurped tyranny. Thus farre *Knox*.

Ann. 1560. *Theodore Beza* printed his Confessions, wherein hee avoucheth. That there are vices inherent in the Persons of Princes, though they bee lawfully established, by succession, or election, *viz.* Vngodlinesse, covetousnesse, ambition, cruelty, luxury, lechery, and such like sinnes which Tyrants delight in. What shall bee done in this case to these Princes? I answer (saith hee) that it belongeth to the superiour powers, such as are the seven Electours in the Empire, and the States-men of the Kingdome almost in every Monarchy, to restraine the fury of Tyrants, which if they doe not, they are Traytours to their Countries, and shall before the Lord give an account of their treachery. Thus farre *Beza*.

Pag. 216.

1561. The very yeare after, there was a contention betweene the Nobility and Clergy of *Scotland* about this matter, (as *Buchanan* reporteth:) let him tell his owne tale. *Calendis Novemb. Regina ad Missam:* The Queene upon the Feast of All-Saints, added to her private Masse all the solemnities and superstitious Ceremonies of the Papists; The Ministers of the Gospell tooke it very ill, complained thereof to the people, in their publike congregations, and admonished the Nobility of their duty in that behalfe: whereupon rose a controversie in a house of private meeting, betweene the Nobles and Preachers, whether the Nobles may restraine Idolatry, that is like to breake out to a generall destruction: and by rigour of law, compell the chiefe Magistrate to his duty, when he exceeded his bounds? The Ministers of the Church stood stedfast in opinion, as they had formerly done, that the chiefe Magistrate may bee compelled even by forcible meanes to live according to law: but the Noble men because of the Queenes favour, hope of

Rerum Scot. lib. 17. *pag.* 590.

Note how basely the Puritans esteeme the Nobility when they thwart them.

of honour, or love of lucre, did a little waver, and thought other wiſe then the Miniſters: and ſo in the end judgement paſſed with the Nobles, becauſe they were more in number and of better eſtéeme and reputation. Thus farre *Buchanan.*

1568. The outlandiſh Churches in *London* concluded this Canon in a claſſicall Synod, *Si quiſquam repugnantibus legibus Patriæ*: If any man uſurpe Lordſhip, or Magiſtracy, againſt the lawes and priviledges of the Countrey, or if hee that is a lawfull Magiſtrate, doe unjuſtly bereave his ſubjects of the priviledges, and liberties which he hath ſworne to performe unto them, or oppreſſe them by manifeſt tyranny, the inferiour officers muſt oppoſe themſelves againſt him, for they are in duty bound before God, to defend their people, as well from a Domeſticall, as a forraigne Tyrant. Thus farre they. *Bez. epiſt. 24.*

1574. Wee had ſwarmes of caterpillers: namely, *Diſciplina Eccleſiaſtica* from *Rochel*, to teach us, that the Senate Eccleſiaſticall hath the chiefe moderation of the Chriſtian ſociety, and ought to provide that no Magiſtrate bee defective in his charge, and by common care, counſell, and authority to overſee, that every Governour cary himſelfe faithfully in his Magiſtracy. Thus farre that authour. *Fol. 165.*

Franco Gallia from *Colen*, wherein wee find that the people hath power to dethrone their Princes. *Pag. 48.*

Iunius de jure Magiſtratuum (as ſome thinke from *Geneva*,) wherein it is ſaid, that the people have the ſame right to depoſe Kings that are Tyrants, which a generall counſell hath to diſplace a Pope that is an Heretique. *Pag. 308.*

Euſebius Philadelphus from *Edenborough*, wherein wee read, that it was as lawfull for his Brethren of *France*, to defend themſelves againſt the tyranny of *Charles* the ninth King of that name in *France*, as for wayfairing men to reſiſt and repell theeves, cut-throats, and wolves: nay further, I am (ſaith hee) of opinion with the old people of *Rome*, that of all good actions the murther of a Tyrant *Dialog. 2. pag. 57.*

is most commendable. Thus farre hee.

Pag. 206. 1577. Came forth the *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*, with this resolution, That Princes are chosen by God, established by the people: every private man is subject to the Prince: the Multitude and the Officers of State which represent the Multitude, are Superiours to the Prince: yea they may judge his actions, and if hee make resistance, punish him by forcible meanes. So farre hee.

1584. *Danaus* finished his booke of Christian policy, wherein among many other hee propoundeth, and answereth a *Noble question*, as hee termeth it. *Nobilis quaestio sequitur*. A noble question followeth, whether it bee lawfull for subjects to change and alter their Government? Yea, whether it may bee done by godly men with a good conscience? his answer is. The chiefe Magistrate, that notoriously and wilfully violateth the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, may bee displaced by godly subjects, with a good conscience. And this is his reason, *Reges summique Magistratus*, Kings and chiefe Magistrates are the Vassals of the Kingdome, and of the Common-wealth where they rule: Wherefore, they may bee dispossessed and dejected when they shall obstinatly attempt any thing, against the feudall Lawes of the Kingdome where they governe, as Kings and chiefe Magistrates. And it is truly said, that as a generall Councell, is above the Pope, so the Kingdome or the Peeres of the Land, are above the King. Thus farre *Danaus*.

Lib. 3. cap. 6.

De jure Reg. pag. 31. 1585. *George Buchanan* proclaimed Rewards as well for murthering Kings as killing Tygers. If I (saith hee) had power to make a Law, I would command Tyrants to bee transported from the society of men into some solitary place, or else to bee drowned in the bottome of the Sea, that the evill savour of dead Tyrants should not annoy living men. Further more I would award recompence to bee given for the slaughter of Tyrants, not onely of all in generall, but of every one in particular, as men use to reward them

them for their paines which kill Wolves or Beares, and destroy their young ones. *Hactenus.*

The same yeare *Thomas Cartwright* commended *Dudley Fenner's* his *Sacra Theologia* (as they call his booke) to the World, wherein men are warranted by sundry Texts of Scripture, most miserably abused, to destroy Tyrants. Therein hee (following the Common opinion of the *Puritans*) maketh two sorts of Tyrants, *Tirannus sine titulo*, and *Tiraunus exercitio*. For the Tyrant without title: Hee is confident, that any man may cut his throat. *Huic quisque privatus resistet, etiam si: potest è medio tollat*, Let every private man resist him, and if hee can, take away his life. For the Tyrant exercent: having described him to bee a Prince, that doth wilfully dissolve all, or the chiefest compacts of the Common-wealth, hee concludeth against him, *Hunc tollant, vel Pacifice vel cum Bello, qui ea potestate donati sunt, ut Regni* Ephori *vel omnium ordinum conventus publicus.* The Peeres of the Kingdome or the publique assembly of States, ought to destroy him, either by peaceable practises, or open warre. *Hactenus.* *Lib. 5. cap. 13. pag. 185.*

Anno 1588. *Hermannus Renecherus* published observations upon the first Psalme, wherein hee invesheth the Presbitery with all the Popes Prerogatives. Concerning the Presbiterian power over Kings, this is his notable annotation: God (saith hee) hath ordained the Civill Magistrate for the good of the Ecclesiasticall order, therefore the Ecclesiasticall State is the highest throne of Gods earthly Kingdome, the supreame seate of all excellency, and the chiefest Court wherein God himselfe is president, to distribute eternall gifts to his servants. Whereas the politicall Empire is but as it were an inferiour bench, wherein justice is administred according to the prescription of the Ecclesiasticall soveraignty. Thus farre *Renecherus*. *Pag. 72.*

Robert Rollocke, a man otherwise very learned, is carried with the current of this errour, and borrowed his assertion of Master *Fenner*, whose words hee expoundeth by way

In Daniel. cap. 5. pag. 150. of *paraphrasis*, in his commentaries on *Daniel* printed at *Edenborough*, 1591. Though the chiefe lawfull Magistrate (saith Master *Rollock*,) doe many things unjustly and tyrannously, hee may not rashly bee violated by them especially which have not authority: but the Nobles or the publike assembly of States, must reduce him to his duty by reproofe and all other lawfull meanes, 1 *Sam.* 14. 46. If hee doe still persist in open and desperate tyranny, wilfully dissolving all or the chiefest compacts of the Common-wealth, private men must not yet meddle with him, onely the Peeres, or the publike assembly of all States to whom that charge belongeth, must provide that the Church and Common-wealth come not to desolation: though it cannot otherwise bee done, then by the death and destruction of the tyrant. Better it is that an evill King bee destroyed, then the Church and State together ruined. Thus farre *Rollock*. For proofe hee referreth his Reader first to the 1 *Sam.* 14. 46. *viz. Then* Saul *came up from the Philistims, and the Philistims went to their owne place: ergo* Kings that are wicked may bee reduced to their duty by the Peeres, or assembly of States according to the rules of the new *Puritan logicke*. Secondly, for the killing and destroying of Kings, hee referreth his Readers to the 2. *Reg. cap.* 11. *verse* 4. 5. 6. 7. which place I thinke hee never vouchsafed to looke upon, but set it downe as hee found it quoted in *Fenners* Divinity, from whom hee hath taken all the rest.

I will make an end with *William Bucanus*, whose Booke was published at the request, and with the approbation of *Beza* and *Goulartius*, maine pillars of the Church of *Geneva*. 1602. They (saith *Bucanus*) which have any part of office in the publike administration of the Common-wealth, as the Overseers, Senatours, Consuls, Peeres, or Tribunes, may restraine the insolency of evill Kings. Thus farre hee.

Loco 76. pag. 844.

This *Puritan dangerous* errour is directly repugnant to the Law, the Gospell, the Precepts of the Apostles, the practise

practise of Martyrs, and the Doctrine of the Fathers, Councels, and other classicall Writers, as I have proved in the six former Chapters: and will more directly shew (by the grace of God) in my other Book, wherein the holy texts of Scripture, which the *Papists* and *Puritans* doe damnably abuse against the Ecclesiasticall and Civill authority of Kings, shall bee answered by the godly Protestants: whose labour God used to reforme his Church since the yeare of our Lord, 1517. and by the ancient Fathers and Orthodoxall Writers in every age of the Church. This *Puritan position*, which authoriseth Nobles and assemblies of States against wicked Kings, is the very assertion of the most seditious *Iesuites*, that have lived in our age, as I will demonstrate by two or three: *Iohannes Mariana*, whose Booke seemeth to bee written in defence of *Clement* the Frier, who stabbed *Henry* the third King of *France*. The faults and licentiousnesse of Kings (saith *Mariana*) whether they raigne by consent of the people, or right of inheritance, are to bee borne and endured, so long as the Lawes of shamefastnesse and honesty, whereto all men bee bound, are not violated: for Princes should not rashly bee disturbed, least the Common-wealth fall into greater misery and calamity. But if the Prince make havock of the Common-wealth, and expose the private fortunes of his subjects for a pray to other men, if hee despise Law, and contemne Religion, this course must bee taken against him. Let him bee admonished and recalled to his duty: if hee repent, satisfie the Weale-publike, and amend his faults, there ought (as I thinke) to bee no further proceeding against him. But if there bee no hope of his amendment, the Common-wealth may take away his Kingdome. And because that cannot bee done (in all likelihoode) without warre, they may levy power, brandish their blades against their King, and exact money of the people, for the maintenance of their warre: for when there is no other helpe, the Peeres of the Common-wealth, having proclaimed their King a

De Regis institut. l. 1. c. 6.

publike enemy, may take away his life. Thus farre *Mariana*.

In Hester c. 1. pag. 88. The States-men of the Kingdome (saith *Franciscus Fevardentius*) have a sovereigne power over their Kings: for Kings are not absolutely established, but stand bound to observe lawes, conditions, and compacts, to their subjects: the which, if they violate, they are no lawfull Kings, but Theeves and Tyrants, punishable by the States. Thus farre *Fevardentius*.

De jure Magist. fol. 18. Inferiour Magistrates (saith *Iohannes Baptista Ficklerus*) are the Defenders and Protectours of the Lawes and rights of the State, and have authority (if need require) to correct and punish the supreame King. So farre *Ficklerus*.

An *English* fugitive, which was the Authour of the booke *De justa abdicatione Henrici tertii*, affirmeth, That all the Majesty of the Kingdome, is in the assembly of States-men, to whom it belongeth to make covenants with God, to dispose of the affaires of the Kingdome, to appoint matters pertaining to warre and peace, to bridle the Kingly power, and to settle all things that belong to publique Government. So farre hee.

Lib. 3. cap. 8.

Part. 1. cap. 4. pag. 72. And the most seditious *Dolemon* saith, that all humane Law and order Naturall, Nationall, and positive, doth teach, that the Common-wealth, which gave Kings their authority for the Common good, may restraine or take the same from them if they abuse it to the Common ill: So farre *Dolemon*: and of this opinion are many other as may appeare by Doctor *Morton* by whom they are discovered and refuted.

How farre this gangrene will extend, I know not. The Kings of Christendome are dayly crucified (as CHRIST their Lord was) betweene two Theeves; I meane the Papist and Puritan, which have prepared this deadly poison for Princes, whom they in their owne irreligious and trayterous hearts, shall condemne for tyranny. I hope neither Peeres

nor

nor people will bee so fond to believe them, or wicked to follow them, which pretend the Reformation of Religion, and defend the subversion of Christian States. If inferiour Officers, or the publique assembly of all States, will claime this power, it standeth them upon, (as they will avoid everlasting damnation) not to derive a title from *Rome*, *Lacedemon*, or *Athens*, (as *Calvin* doth, whom the rest follow) but from the Hill of *Sion*, and to plead their interest from the Law or the Gospell. *Si mandatum non est præsumptio, & ad pœnam proficit, non ad præmium: quia ad contumeliam pertinet conditoris, ut contempto Domino colantur servi, & spreto Imperatore, adorentur Comites.* If their opposition against Kings bee not commanded of God, it is presumption against God: for it is a contumely against God the Creatour of all States, to despise Lords and honour servants, to contemne the soveraigne Emperour, and to reverence the Peeres of the Empire. So farre *Augustine*. *My sonne* (saith *Solomon*) *feare God and the* King, *and meddle not with the seditious: for their destruction shall come sodainly, and who knoweth the end of them?* The conclusion of all is, That Kings have supreame and absolute authority under God on earth, not because all things are subject to their pleasure, which were plaine tyranny, not Christian soveraignty: but because all persons, within their Dominions, stand bound in Law, allegiance, and conscience, to obey their pleasure, or to abide their punishment. And Kings themselves, are no way subject to the controwle, censure, or punishment, of any earthly man, but reserved by speciall prerogative to the most fearefull and righteous judgement of God, with whom there is no respect of persons. Hee whose servants they are, *Will beate them with a rod of iron, and breake them in peeces like a potters vessell.* If they abuse that great, and soveraign power, (which God had endued them withall,) to support error, to suppresse truth, and to oppresse the innocent. God, of his great mercy, grant us the Spirit of truth, to direct us

August. in quæst. mixt.

Prov. 24. 21.

in all loyalty [illegible] being not seduced by these seditious Sectaries, [illegible] grow in grace, stand fast in obedience, [illegible] love, follow peace, and encrease more and more in the knowledge of our Lord [illegible] Lord whom bee all praise, power, and dominion, now and for ever. Amen.

FINIS.